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Japan- United States at a Crossroads:

Evolving a True Comprehensive Partnership Through the Millennium

by

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United States Navy
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Preface

This paper is the result of an intentional focus during the past year on the Pacific area in general with Japan as the centerpiece. Originally intended to be a discussion of the relationship between the Japanese and United States governments from the military standpoint, the focus instead must start from the overall relations between the two countries and be all- encompassing. Where specific ideas have been included I have footnoted them appropriately, however, much of the material is a synthesis of numerous hours of discussions with military, and civilian government officials, foreign experts, academics, and fellow classmates with experience in the area.

The end result is intended to be the framework of a Cabinet presentation concerning this most important bilateral relationship. This country must formulate a broad-based approach to the Japanese and put the national interest ahead of bureaucratic infighting. We have too many agencies trying to exert influence without intra-agency coordination. A recent New York Times article brilliantly stated the problem in its title, "Confusion is Operative Word in U. S. Policy Toward Japan".¹ The influence of our country on the Japanese is significant but we have to approach issues in an integrated manner to achieve the United States national security interest.

¹ Robert Pear, "Confusion is Operative Word in U. S. Policy Toward Japan, New York Times, 20 March 1989, p. 1.

Overview

The United States and Japan today possess the single most important bilateral relationship on the world geopolitical scene. It is necessary to carefully review the topical issues facing that relationship and address the need for a more mature, thoughtful approach on the part of the United States Government (USG) toward what has been described as the linchpin relationship in the national security strategy of this country. ²

Despite a policy five decades old of "Europe First" the United States faces it's most important fight entering the decade of the nineties in the battleground of international economics and not as a potential clash of tanks in the Fulda Gap. The unique match between Japanese and American interests was highlighted by former National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski as follows:

"America needs Japanese capital to finance its industrial renovation and technological innovation; it needs Japanese cooperation in protecting its still significant global lead in creative R & D and in opening up new scientific frontiers for both peaceful and military uses; it needs Japanese participation in securing through enhanced economic development such geopolitically threatened yet vital areas as the Philippines, Pakistan, Egypt, Central America and Mexico. Japan needs American security protection for its homeland; it needs open access to the American market for its continued economic well-being and, through cooperation with America, secure access to a stable and expanding world market; it needs to maintain and even expand its collaborative

² Admiral Huntington Hardisty, Speech to the Pacific Symposium, Honolulu, 2 March 1989

*participation in the vast American corporate and academic research facilities that are so central to Japan's continued innovation."*³

Our most important ally in continuing the containment of world communism is the Government of Japan (GOJ) who uniquely refuses to accept the current outbreak of "Gorby-Mania" now widely embraced in Europe as the end of the Cold War. As a "front line state" Japan recognizes showmanship and propaganda for what it is and must be supported by the United States as it stands up to a Soviet diplomatic assault.

During this decade Japan has adopted a policy of "Comprehensive National Security" which has seen them play a significantly enhanced role in Pacific matters. This policy emerged from a commission report in 1980 which recommended Japan focus on the political, military and economic factors which are essential to its long term success. Since that time Japan has improved their global perspective on matters of critical importance. Expansion of their self defense responsibilities and a defense budget increasing at 5% per year are evidence of the Japanese commitment to be a strong player in military matters.⁴

The United States must publicly put aside the xenophobia popular among certain facets of the political establishment and stop blaming the Japanese work ethic for the decline of American industries. Our products don't sell on the world market because they cost too much and in many cases demonstrate inferior quality. A recent public opinion poll found that a significant portion of the American populace views the trading success of

³ Zbigniew Brzezinski, "America's New Geostrategy", Foreign Affairs, vol 66, no. 44, (Spring 1988), p 696. (Underlining added)

⁴ Norman Palmer, Westward Watch, pp. 67-71.

Japan as the major threat to the United States! What a disturbing reaction! Apparently Mr Gorbachev has convinced some Americans that the Soviet Union is now a cuddly bear with no designs on world domination!

An all out media blitz should be conducted to enhance the public perception of bilateral relations with Japan. Our combined economic capacity is the essential ingredient to the continued success of democracy throughout the world.

"To be a Great Power - by definition - a state capable of holding its own against any other nation - demands a flourishing economic base." ⁵

The world's foremost economic powers must maintain a stable and all around healthy relationship to continue as Great Powers.

Issues

The following specific issues will be discussed as stumbling blocks and areas of concern to the evolving USG/GOJ relationship:

- Burden-sharing: a valid phrase applied to the multilateral NATO alliance but one that offends the Japanese by its implication that they have not contributed to US initiatives in the Pacific. The GOJ has largely done what has been asked by the USG.

- Military resurgence: Growth of the Japanese economy has made its Self Defense Force (SDF) expenditures the sixth or seventh largest in the world even though it is only about 1% of GNP. Concern among Asian countries has grown as their memories of World War II run deep. ⁶

⁵ Paul Kennedy, The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers p. 459.

⁶ Palmer, op. cit. p 67.

●● Japan/Soviet Relations: Achievement of "Normalization" in relations appears inevitable within a few years should Gorbachev remain in power. What potential impacts that might have on the United States in the Western Pacific are unknown but most certainly would prove troublesome.

●● Trading Practices: Many U.S. politicians play to their local constituents by bashing Japan for "unfair" practices. Our legislators must be very careful to not forget the lessons of the great depression which was exacerbated by the passage of the virulently protectionist Smoot Hawley Bill which effectively turned a recession into a world wide depression and sowed the seeds which a decade later plunged the world into war.

●● Japan's demonstration of political power: As the economic powerhouse of the decade, Japan is uniquely positioned to influence major world events as a financial power but lacks the more traditional military power and natural resource base. Our country must gracefully acknowledge Japanese economic power and afford them greater responsibility for the world economic system (World Bank, IMF, OECD, etc).

●● Regional dynamics in the Asian theater: Unlike Europe, where NATO and the Warsaw Pact face off against each other, the Pacific Basin is a series of bilateral arrangements with the largest "Bloc" being the trade oriented Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). If the United States does not comprehensively deal with the role of Japan, the GOJ may achieve, through economic means alone, the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere it's predecessors went to war for fifty years ago.

●● Technological breakthroughs: Uniquely positioned to be our partner in confronting global challenges, Japanese industries in many fields such as biotechnology, energy, pollution, space, electronics, etc. can make the difference in the next century. Their having invested enormous sums into

research and development --combined with an uncanny ability to apply basic research conducted in other countries -- makes greater US/Japanese cooperation an obvious avenue to further intensify our relationship.

●● Socio-ethnic issues: The United States society, unique in the world in it's lack of pre-occupation with class or ethnic consciousness, may yet suffer from a deep seated and rarely admitted resentment against the Asian peoples because of confrontations which have impacted three generations of Americans in World War II, Korea, and Viet Nam.

●● Unexpected dynamics: How the US will deal with unanticipated course changes in the ships of state in the Pacific largely depends on our relationship with Japan.

☐ What if the SINO-SOVIET split is healed by this year's summit? Could Japan be drawn away from our alliance?

☐ How will the US deal with the expanding issue of Nuclear free zones in the Western Pacific? A new policy is needed to replace the long standing "Neither Confirm Nor Deny". Perhaps by evolving something palatable to the Japanese we can overcome the current diplomatic smokescreens concerning a bothersome issue throughout the world.

Burdensharing as a wedge in our relationship

Vocal sentiments of many political leaders are comforting to the local voters but counter-productive to the national interests of the United States vis a vis our Japanese relationship. The NATO Alliance, originally formulated with huge infusions of American capital, is now well established with the major members each individually successful in the world economic order. Contrary to popular beliefs the Japanese government has contributed

significantly to the support of those U. S. forces stationed in its country. They accepted a US request to build military self-defense forces to protect the sea lanes of communication out to 1,000 miles and increase their air space control zones. Japanese efforts to enhance their SDF by purchases of US military equipment - including fighter and patrol aircraft, surveillance systems, and AEGIS combat systems - in recent years are indicative of their intent to be a strong partner in the Western Pacific.⁷

An answer is to broaden the Japanese relationship in every way possible to totally link their economic success and our military power. Each country will doubtless work for its individual national interest, but the fact must always remain foremost that we are both interested in the economic system which has gotten us to the top - Capitalism. The free flow of trade around the world benefits both of us and is mandatory to the maintenance of international peace and stability.

The Japanese should increase their role in the international financial system. We separately must get our financial house in order by ceasing the policy of continuing to spend more than we take in. The domestic debate over taxes must escalate from the level of campaign slogans and attack the deficit problems. Numerous officials view the greatest threat in the world today as a prolonged world-wide recession/depression. They foresee it occurring as the United States consumes more than it produces, fails in the intellectual development of our children and destroys the minds of much of the populace with drugs and alcohol. Neither the Soviet Union nor Japan is the greatest threat to the United States today! Our inability as a people to

⁷ John F Lehman, Command of the Seas, p. 406.

accept responsibility and take serious action to confront societal problems may result in the decline of the United States as a great power.⁸

Military resurgence in Japan

Many factors led me originally to support a remilitarization of Japan. It is a country largely dependent on the Sea Lines of Communications (SLOC's) for continued success in global trade. For the United States to employ it's Navy, most recently in the Persian Gulf, to maintain the SLOC's (which are more important to Japan than this country) appears mercenary to some. I do not believe the American people want to support a force of Hessians acting as an international police force. The Japanese are certainly able to support strong naval and air forces to guard their interest in the Pacific and the Indian Oceans.

As the year has passed, I have become convinced that the development of a significant "Blue-Water" navy on the part of Japan is not in the United States best interest. This opinion has evolved from numerous discussions with a wide variety of Asian officials from small and large countries, none of whom are interested - at all - in seeing the rising sun once again militarily dominant in their region. While I believe the United States has outgrown the memories of World War II, particularly in view of President Bush's attendance at the Emperor's funeral, several of the countries of Asia have not forgotten, nor forgiven. An expanded military role in the theater for the Japanese could result in an Asian arms race which would be counter-productive to regional and global stability.

⁸ Kennedy, op. cit. pp 458 - 471.

How far the Japanese go and what size forces they build are questions for them to wrestle with domestically. The two media/political lightning rods are the building of aircraft carriers and adding a refueling capability to their tactical air forces. There are advantages to the United States for the GOJ to take either or both of these steps, however, as a mature partner, it should not be our role to lead the Japanese government to answers on these matters.

A Japanese ministry official mused that the average nation requires 50 years to be forgiven for the sins of its military and perhaps by the middle of the next decade things will be different. Like it or not, the United States serves as the "Good Cop" in the Western Pacific and the countries of the area with few exceptions -- North Korea, the Soviet Union, and Viet Nam -- want to keep us on the street corner. The small states of Asia are probably scared about an imagined threat; but, their fears of Japan must be understood in this country. We must clearly justify our forward strategy to the American taxpayer who sees the dollar declining in value, deficits burgeoning and a decline in government services. Our forces are important in the Pacific area and the citizenry needs to understand why they must pay the bill to help maintain the peace in Asia.

Japan- Soviet Relations

The lack of a peace treaty ending World War II stands as a major impediment to any rapprochement between the Soviets and our Japanese ally. While the Soviet foreign minister has been laboring to achieve an improved relationship, the Japanese, alone among the major countries of the world, have refused to submit to the charm of the new Soviet administration.

The Japanese have adopted a firm position that state visits must include discussions of a peace treaty. No treaty has occurred because of Soviet occupation of the four islands north of Hokkaido (the Northern Territories) which Soviet troops grabbed in the final week of World War II. The geostrategic importance of the islands, seaward of one of the straits which bottle up the Soviet Pacific Fleet, makes the issue critical in the Western Pacific Theater. The Soviets are making a full court press diplomatically to isolate the Japanese and point out their intransigence in dealing with Gorbachev. We must deny the Soviets use of this diplomatic lever and support the Japanese wholeheartedly. Japan should achieve the return of the Northern Territories and a peace treaty unless they unilaterally change their position and accept a visit for public relations reasons.

Mr Gorbachev at Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk has spoken visionary words about how he sees a Soviet role in the Pacific consortium of nations. His first goal was obviously a lessening of tensions with the People's Republic of China, but the secondary issue is taking advantage of the economic success of Japan and the emerging Pacific states to help solve the staggering financial problems confronting the Soviet Union. We must unequivocally deny the Soviets representation within the economic councils of the western world until they bilaterally settle with the Japanese.

Some tout economic development in the Siberian area as a likely source of eventual Japanese - Soviet cooperation. The "opening of Siberia" however appears of little real value as improvements in energy conservation have lessened the necessity of achieving Siberian resource access to Japan. The largely barren and scarcely inhabited areas of Soviet Asia provide limited growth in markets. Employing European areas of the Soviet Union as

an eventual market is possible, but lack of hard currencies and transportation difficulties will complicate Soviet - Japanese trade for the next few decades.

Trading Practices

Enactment of a bill similar to the infamous Smoot- Hawley Act is absolutely frightening to our future economic success. The Gephardt amendment to last years trade bill and pronouncements continuing from the Democratic leadership in the Congress belie major difficulties upcoming in the negotiations to achieve improved balances of trade throughout the Pacific and particularly with Japan. Efforts by Japan to eliminate barriers are ignored by self - gratifying statements by US politicians.

In last fall's TV debates, Vice Presidential candidate Bentsen horribly bashed the Japanese government with threats of protectionism. While this might be forgiven as electioneering, it was restated by Senator Bentsen (the powerful chairman of the Senate Finance Committee) recently when he opined that the Japanese are taking advantage of our military to hurt us economically. He used the example of our naval forces supporting the freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf as a case where the Japanese achieve an uninterrupted flow of oil to their economy.⁹ The protectionists often fail to realize that the Japanese military is prohibited from acting far from their homeland by the constitution which the United States government virtually imposed on the Japanese people following World War II.

⁹ Comments made on the Wall Street Week TV program 10 March 1989.

Those in favor of protectionist legislation want to blame the trade deficits on our allies who are feeding the American consumption monster what it wants to eat. Rather than preach economic discipline and savings to their constituents incumbent politicians prefer to sing "Don't Worry - Be Happy" and blame everything on those foreigners who are satisfying our appetite for quality products. Instead of complaining about import quotas and protectionism, we should re-establish the American tradition of a work ethic and make better products ourselves. Perhaps changing the current song in vogue from "Don't Worry - Be Happy" to the old classic "Whistle While You Work" might get America on a more productive track for the future!!

Japan's Political Power

We must use those political avenues where the Japanese have openings to employ our alliance in our mutual best interest. An area of major importance should be relations with the Arab countries of the world. The Israeli lobby in this country always manages to prejudice the decision-making process in Mid-East matters hurting our financially important relations with the Arab world. Simultaneously, Japanese pragmatism has allowed development of good relations with Arab oil exporters. As a major importer of Persian Gulf oil Japan has funnelled large sums of money to both sides in the Iran/Iraq war. We should allow Japan to take the lead in helping to improve the existing situation between the United States and Iran/Iraq. A principle of leadership that works almost invariably is delegating authority to others. Those who are insecure in their leadership invariably are reluctant to delegate because of their lack of confidence. We

have many reasons to be secure with our place in the world . Sharing leadership in more international troublespots should improve our relationship with Japan. As a mature, confident power we must be willing to let them share the mantle of success.

Another important issue is according the Japanese their rightful place in international relations. If we intend to utilize the United Nations as a meaningful forum for deliberating international crises then the Japanese should have a seat at the Security Council on a permanent basis. Perhaps the diplomatic way to achieve that end would be to recommend both Japan and India for permanent membership, without the veto power. Japanese economic power and her non-nuclear constitution would be a welcome addition to deliberations about international crises. Including India as the leading proponent of the Non-Aligned Movement and second most populous country in the world would similarly seem to aid consultations among world powers. Addition of the two countries would introduce an Asian presence more appropriate to its share of the world's population and wealth.

The "Europe First" contingent will say to add West Germany, but I submit that would be impossible as long as the post war division continues. The South Americans might demand a voice (probably Brazil), but their economic debt situation mitigates against serious consideration for the near future.

Expansion of the Security Council might be difficult due to the third world influence which might cause the opening of the UN charter to get out of control. The United States government should make an initiative to get the UN to face the reality of power alignments forty years after it's invention. Should the myriad of small states and the communist bloc frustrate an attempt to balance the working of the UN then perhaps the right

answer would be to only provide lip service to the UN as otherwise not serving the best interests of the United States. ¹⁰

Regional Dynamics in Northeast Asia

Remilitarization of Japan is viewed with conspicuous alarm by its neighbors of the Pacific rim. The financial emergence of the Republic of Korea (ROK) with favorable balances of trade/budget surpluses has caused South Korea to act with a greater sense of destiny, yet they still demonstrate considerable antipathy to a more military Japan. The ASEAN states want to provide the cheap labor and off-shore manufacturing which the Japanese have found necessary to continue their growth but see only problems in any greater military role by Japan. Even the PRC, who outnumber the Japanese 10:1 in population, negatively view a more militarized Japan.

In absence of a military effort the Japanese have become the largest contributor of foreign aid in the Western World and should be applauded for their efforts. The United States, however, must carefully balance encouraging the Japanese to expand their Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) versus our bearing the military burden. American trade and business leaders must understand that with significant aid goes considerable long term commercial influence. While we may save some funding in the foreign aid budget we may be weakening our ability to compete internationally over the long term.

¹⁰ This issue has been discussed in various lectures/symposia during the past year. The experts view each time has been that its logical and would enhance world stability. Then they universally say it could never happen because opening the UN Charter would be akin to opening Pandoras's Box.

Nationalistic tendencies among the nations of the Pacific must be encouraged without becoming detrimental to peace and stability. A specific case where the Japanese can take the lead, with ASEAN support, is to help mollify the nationalism of the Philippines political leadership with regard to the re-negotiation of US base rights in 1991. It is in the best interest of all the allies to see those bases remain. Meaningful negotiations may become impossible due to Filipino intransigence over what they complain is an American restraint on their achievement of national destiny. The combination of Japanese ODA and ASEAN political pressure is necessary to assist the US and Philippines from boxing each other into a corner. Those in the United States who glibly say we will just leave the Philippines simply don't understand the physical enormity of the Pacific Theater and the critical strategic importance of those two bases. Our national power and overall flexibility in the Pacific will suffer a grievous loss should we fall back to alternative sites which lack the geostrategic advantages of Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Station.

Technological Advances into the 21st Century

Avenues now exist to expand the close relations between USG/GOJ to delve more rapidly into technology issues which will control the balance of power in the next century. Particular projects which should be carefully developed include:

- Nuclear fusion: (Note this section was actually written before the 23 March announcement of a possible breakthrough in this field at the University of Utah) Resource poor Japan should take the lead in the development of what may become the next major source of electric power.

Progress in this field has been slowed in the United States by the oil lobby and by the anti-nuclear movement. Enormous resources are mandatory to bring about commercially viable fusion power but the long term benefits are unimaginable. Countries which can manage the development of a broad based grid of electric fusion power distribution will significantly lower their dependence on foreign sources of energy while simultaneously lowering the ongoing pollution of our atmosphere. Creative cooperation between the US and Japan could solve this Herculean technological task. ¹¹

●● Space stations: Beset by existing budget difficulties, the United States has failed to generate a national consensus for moving on to the next frontier on a permanent basis. That should be corrected by achieving the partnership of Japan in putting a fully functional large space station in orbit before the year two thousand. The Japanese should be brought in as equal partners to include the procurement of additional shuttle vehicles to carry their payloads into orbit. Should they desire to establish a functional spaceport in the Pacific we should encourage them and aid their development. If they want to wait on building their own launching site then the Shuttle pad currently in mothballs at Vandenberg AFB could be made available via a lease arrangement to the mutual benefit of both countries.

●● Environmental Protection: The United States and Japan have the capacity and ability to lead the world in solving the currently intractable problems of pollution recently highlighted by an international conference in London. Advances in waste management, toxic clean-up, and reduction of atmospheric pollutants are specific areas where an example can be set for the world.

¹¹ Allen Hammond, William Metz, and Thomas Maugh II, Energy and the Future, (Washington, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1973) pp. 79-94.

●● **Biotechnology:** Careful sharing of biotechnology breakthroughs made by American scientists can achieve co-production of important products in this emerging field. Japanese ability to rapidly transition scientific advances to commercial success can be mutually beneficial if negotiated correctly.

●● **Marine resources:** As maritime nations we both need to achieve a satisfactory agreement on undersea resources and the management of ocean marine life. The Japanese have got to be pressured to conform to international agreements regarding the preservation of marine animals and do a better job of adhering to existing laws regarding limits of fishing waters. The Law of the Sea agreements rejected by the Reagan administration need revision to meet the national interests of both countries.

●● **Strategic Defense:** The enormous expense of fielding an effective defense against strategic attack has become a cause celebre in the United States. With a constitution insisting on the importance of defense and having already agreed to work in conjunction with the United States, the GOJ should be further integrated into this emerging family of technologies.

●● **Information Technologies:** Electronic innovations of the US/Japan have led the revolution in computers, communications and other information science. We must competitively cooperate to maintain the western worlds lead in these critical areas.

Socio-ethnic issues confronting the relationship

An "unmentionable" in most military circles is the hint of prejudice or racism on the part of an active duty service member. While most educated persons have overtly overcome many of the prejudices they were brought

up to believe in there is perhaps an underlying resentment toward the Oriental peoples. Such antipathy simmers below the surface and may be a cause of the xenophobia that I've discussed in several areas.

Our "Europe First" policy is correctly fashioned on the over arching national interest and necessity to maintain the NATO Alliance. This relationship may also be aided by the similar White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) upbringing of many of our most important European allies.

It has become routine to see honor graduates of Asian descent emerging from many of our schools and colleges. Even twenty years ago, as an honors student at a prestigious New York City school, my class was largely composed of Chinese, Japanese, and Jewish boys. It takes hard work to learn and to face the high tech challenge of the future. It is distressing to see American families decry the excellence achieved by the Oriental students today because they spend too much time studying and not enough playing. Unfortunately greater percentages of our college engineers are foreign students enjoying our marvelous educational advantages while the American citizens too often are loaded up with "soft" studies. The ages old argument of the appropriate balance in education will never go away, but our high school children could learn more from the Japanese diet of 240 school days a year (versus our 180). Simultaneously Japanese college students would learn greater creativity by incorporating many of the advances achieved in United States universities. There is room for both countries to benefit through greater cooperation in education. If not addressed this is one of those long term issues that may eventually prove Paul Kennedy's theory.

An interesting sidelight of the ethnic issue was the recently established cabinet of the new Bush administration. While a great deal of press was written on the balancing of a cabinet with regard to blacks,

Hispanics, women, conservatives, moderates, Texans, etc., at no time did anyone ever ask about an Asian - American in the cabinet. Perhaps the time will come when these matters will be of no concern, but for the foreseeable future, it appears to me that the residual resentment of Oriental success in several areas has caused a backlash detrimental to our overall national interest.

Wild cards which could upset the status quo

□ Sino- Soviet military alliance: Should the upcoming summit result in a friendlier Sino/Soviet relationship by itself that will be good for the world. IF the PRC and Soviet Union re-establish close military ties similar to the fifties, we would have a major geopolitical crisis. Using the Japanese to foster better economic relations with the PRC may help to forestall enhanced Sino-Soviet relations. Jointly we must impress the PRC that it will achieve more by close cooperation with the West than by lapsing back into pure communism.

□ Nuclear Free Zones: The nuclear free movements in the Pacific are stronger than generally understood by the American populace. The nuclear policy of New Zealand has already caused a severing of our close friendship and bodes ill for similar difficulties elsewhere. The well known Japanese principles opposing nuclear weapons have not caused major disruptions in the relationship but remain a source of concern. The "Neither Confirm Nor Deny" policy needs a thorough review in relationship to today's world opinion. Designing a policy in conjunction with the Japanese would symbolize their importance to us and allow the other nuclear movements to be placated.

Recommendations

My principal conclusion is that in an incredibly complex world situation the key to resolving many of the important issues facing the United States lies in continuing and improving our warm and mutually beneficial relationship with Japan. Anything less bodes ill for the continuation of the world order as we now know it! Four specific recommendations are made to orchestrate an improved bilateral arrangement with the Japanese and better Pacific relations overall.

A. Get our own financial house in order! While we are in a highly precarious financial situation we cannot dictate to our allies how they should run their economies to our benefit. Enormous problems confront us in the areas of crime, drugs, poverty, and education. Our mettle will be tested in resolving these issues. We must lead the world by example and not by precept. ¹²

B. Adopt calls for the establishment of a Pacific Coalition (the PAC 8) to better define economic and security interests in the Pacific theater. With US/Japanese leadership such an organization might improve world harmony in all facets. ¹³

C. Establish a standing working group of Japan/US experts to deal with the myriad of issues confronting our relationship. ¹⁴ Such a panel would serve as a meeting ground for the intra-agency conflicts which have

¹² Major issues similar to these were raised by Professor George Kennan in a special interview on the MacNeil Lehrer Newshour, (Public Broadcasting), 20 December 1988.

¹³ Senator Bill Bradley, Speech to the New York Economic Club, 8 December 1989

¹⁴ G. R. Packard, "The Coming U. S. - Japan Crisis," Foreign Affairs, vol. 66, no. 2 (Winter 1987/88), pp. 348-367.

beset negotiations between our two countries in many areas. A separate bilateral/ bipartisan commission of wisemen should be appointed for a long term basis (perhaps nine years) to refine US initiatives vis a vis the Japanese. ¹⁵

D. Establish a prestigious scientific/technical panel led by a cadre of futurists to examine where the world may be technologically by the year 2025. Thirty five years ago, in the relative peace of the mid-1950's, few could have imagined the enormous leaps which have transpired to this date. We must define those dozen or so critical scientific/technological innovations which in the next three decades might increase our security and sustain ongoing economic success for the alliance.

Epilogue

Critics might contend that the ideas in this essay are too soft on Japan and argue that our problems have been caused by their success. I refute that point as the GOJ has to a large extent done exactly what our country has asked. We have been eminently successful in our post war policy of containment but must now move on and adapt to a changed world. Our country - magnificent as it is - has become less resolute over the past generation in living within our means. We must take more long term responsibility, return to the values of hard work and education, and stop blaming others for our difficulties. Change is good for organizations to invigorate and refresh their values.

¹⁵ Robert A. Scalapino, "Evolving Japanese Security Policy and the United States," Presentation to the Pacific Symposium March 1989.

It is important to remember the lessons of one of the craftiest politicians the world has ever known - Nicolo Machiavelli - who long ago realized that a state must move away from the status quo when the situation changes significantly.

I conclude then that fortune varying and men remaining fixed in their ways, they are successful so long as these ways conform to circumstances, but when they are opposed then they are unsuccessful. I certainly think that it is better to be impetuous than cautious, for fortune is a woman, and it is necessary, if you wish to master her, to conquer her by force; and it can be seen that she lets herself be overcome by the bold rather than by those who proceed coldly. "16

The United States must take bold new initiatives to master the future. I strongly contend that the best way to accomplish success moving toward the millennium is to work in concert with the Government of Japan; which shares so many similar interests. The postwar American hegemony is gone forever and we've returned to our historical 20-30% of the world's economy. If we have not won the Cold War we sure as hell have a big lead in the fourth quarter. We must take advantage of the current situation by boldly strengthening our comprehensive agenda with Japan. Together -- as leaders of the Western World -- we must set an example to lead the free countries to continued success in all aspects of the overarching struggle between freedom and tyranny.

16. N. Machiavelli, The Prince, pp 122-123.

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